

- 65 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that
135 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely
helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of
running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is
one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the
flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society
that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability
to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases,
of which Mangwa is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of
residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system
of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the
disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap be-
tween theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

- 57 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a
135 sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them
and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat.
Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's prop-
erty are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of un-
worthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against
the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold
a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by
stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but com-
pared with girls, and even women, they are not.
- 58 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made
to feel his status. Sometimes contemporaneously and sometimes as a matter
of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A com-
parable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equiv-
alent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is
still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling
bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that
to call an adult a child (*maka*) is a great insult, because, as it was ex-
plained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing,
has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.
- 851 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a
815 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to
enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is
pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has chil-
dren. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an
important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

The People of Alor

596 track from their pleasure in the realization of the exchange. Also, the
 longer the marriage has lasted, the more elaborate will be the financial
 597 reckonings—a factor that helps to stabilize marriages. Theoretically,
 598 and almost always in practice, the bride-price exceeds the dowry, so
 that the woman's family is in a debt position. This one serves as a
 check on facile divorce, since a woman's kin must be able to repay the
 bride-price. On occasion a woman will be caught in a marriage from
 which she cannot extricate herself because male kin cannot, or will not,
 come to her support. Under such circumstances the only solution for
 599 her is to find a second husband who will pay back her first husband the
 owed bride-price. This is generally possible, but the case of one young
 woman caught in a strange village with a husband she did not like and
 whose male kin were unsympathetic is worth repeating.

593 The girl had married a man from a distant village who paid her
 father an unusually large bride-price, amounting to more than three
 mules worth about eighty dollars. The girl went to join her husband
 but refused him sexual privileges. This is quite customary at the begin-
 ning of marriage, so the husband was not too impatient. After a month,
 600 however, one night when she left the house to relieve herself he fol-
 lowed her and raped her. Another source of friction was that she
 wanted to cultivate a field near the village but he and his brothers in-
 sisted that she work in a distant field where she professed to be in dan-
 ger from wild pigs. After a few months of quarrelling she ran back to
 her own village to live with her maternal uncle who had brought her
 up. Her mother had died when she was young and when her father re-
 married she had been taken into the household of the uncle.

604 Her father was greatly annoyed at the rupture in the marriage, par-
 ticularly since he had given so far very little dowry on her. However,
 the husband forced the father into a repayment of all but a thirteen-
 dollar-and-fifty-cent mule that the father refused to return until the
 husband returned a five-dollar mule of the dowry payment. This
 the husband refused to do because of a financial dispute as to precisely
 what was owed. The girl's uncle too was angry because he had been
 given no share in the bride-price, so that he refused to repay the hus-
 band and complicate the divorce. The girl, on her side, refused to find
 another spouse who would assume her financial commitments. Both of
 her male kinsmen were furious with her for what they considered her
 unreasonable behavior. The father in his anger had taken back a shawl
 he had given her, and the uncle refused to pay for a new one who would
 counteract the poison that the girl said her husband had directed against
 her. She had been ill for several months, a condition she attributed to

Adulthood, Marriage, and Sex

107

of sinners with whom he was accused of improper relations at least five years before, and prior to the women's marriage. Nothing of the affair had been suspected until both women had difficulty in childbirth and their husbands bore confusion out of them.

Since a child scarcely ever results from occasional lapses from chastity, both men and women feel free in that respect as long as they are careful not to be caught. When I explained to Fanton the interpreter that we had different ideas in our culture, his comment was, "Oh, that's too bad," which was a nice index of the amount of latitude the Achebe's idea of conception give them in respect to their idea of sex morality. The very obvious advantage of such ideas of conception makes Achebe's, in discussing the subject, extremely unwilling to shun them, even though they grant that even will conceive after a single contact with a male. They are quick to add, however, that three or four days in the pen with a male produces a larger litter. It is a nice example of how reluctant people can be to shun formalism, justifying congenial behavior and consistent with educational attitudes.

It is interesting that, as in many other cultures, illegitimate children seldom, if ever, occur. In the Five Villages there was only one illegitimate child, the offspring of Matingwa the Crazy Woman. Since Matingwa's criminal was planned mostly in terms of sex, her aberrant and almost unique status deserves mention here. Matingwa was considered in her youth a perfectly normal person. She married a man in the harem and with whom she did not get along, so she returned to live with her father. On her return several young men wished to buy her. Time after time a preliminary payment was made, but each time the man involved requested the return of her bride-price because she was having affairs with other men. Her father assumed a blind attitude toward these complaints, answering, "Your wife is still here. Go sleep with her if you wish. I won't be angry." After about four such episodes no further attempt to purchase her was made.

During the first few years after her return, and at a time when she was not in permanent residence with any one man, she bore a child. In view of the local theory of conception, she was undoubtedly excused to have been far more loose morally than she may actually have been. In the course of time she came to be known as the "crazy woman." Her illegitimate child and her profligacy were added evidence. It will be recalled that the fact that she took her child to the fields with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground was another bit of evidence. At the time of this investigation Matingwa was at least in her late thirties and had become a sort of village prostitute. "She was

Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex

113

be mother to their own children. There is even less to make them want to be mothers to their husbands.

The culture fosters a linkage of food, sex, and wealth. All three of these are associated with many avenues of possible frustrations and prepare the ground for instability and distrust in the marital relationship. Despite this, the minimal biologic unity of the family group is recognized in the repercussions of adultery on the spouse and offspring. Family unity is reinforced and extended in social organization by the woman's thematic absorption into the man's lineage and village and is expressed economically by the thematic mutual dependency in the division of property between the sexes, which should make for cohesion. Formally phrased dependencies may be denied in actuality by the initiative allowed women in sexual affairs, by the real power they are capable of exercising, and by the cross-kinship allowed the sexes, so that individuals can exist alone, adequately if not maximally. The weight of male-controlled finances and the complex affinal exchanges succeed in throwing the balance on the side of the thematic structure.

The sum of all the personal factors and the discrepancies between form and practice in institutions should combine to make people isolated units, highly individualized and self-contained to the point of being encysted, without at the same time creating any basic self-assurance and independence born of self-confidence. The recognized patterns of teasing, deceit, lying, and chicanery may be considered both as contributing causes and as effects of such attitudes. All these factors should produce a useful personality whose independence rests upon frustrations, confusions, and surrendered goals. In some instances the inability to create human contacts may actually be phrased as a fear of them. As Margus said after telling one of his dreams, "We die if people are fond of us."

The startled husband that the child simply
 because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because
 there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's
 family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three
 or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage,
 was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He
 then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac-
 cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some
 years earlier by Faspa. Incidentally, the murder of a blood kin to ap-
 pease offend kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, al-
 though I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a
 troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 117
 there is a case in which a man was told by kin that they would take
 his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of
 so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, as that re-
 cognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group
 responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of
 territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incal-
 culable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person
 committing the act. It is small wonder that Kipuka's autobiography
 contains the statement, "The older people all lectured on about fighting
 and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as
 though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a
 very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by
 boldness. Ravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk.
 There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare
 in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids be-
 fore Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in
 the lives of Atimelangans. The series of retaliations listed below covered
 a period of about thirty years.

1. Maniamaka of Kewai killed Motaka of Lawatika. No one seemed
 to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lomani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli
 of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in re-
 venge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in
 selling a head.

3. Lanpade of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the
 instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim
 no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

The People of Aler

SATELLITES

It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descriptions of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and handling and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provide extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages stand out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servants of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help share in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Walking, sitting, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exercises worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with the powerful men to whom they are attached. In return for their assistance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

The People of Alor

[57] It must furthermore be noted that the child is not indulged into automatic activities.

[58] From all these features we can expect at least one consequence in the character formation of the individuals in an individual conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The treatment to which the children are frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the others, are the persistent expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one sees reprimands on the child for disturbing the peace of the others. Exaggerated reactions such as episode, in which her words spilled from into the mouth of a crying child.

[59] As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor [60] a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations the cause. Sleeping with the mother and sharing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity, in inhibiting behavior is created by making the object from which gratification is expected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother treats and treats the child, a very poor line is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by [61] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious qualities of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continuous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The supercilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

[62] The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character. [63] During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the [64] source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal image is likely [65] to have a peculiarly hollow inflexion. The usual role of the father, [66] however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

The People of Aler

157 Every a natural copier, Mikkis is pushed into an unsatisfactory marriage and is filled with fear and hatred of women. Fenna is still very young, but he is on his way to a steady marriage as he is an effort. Two of these men, Kipade and Mikkis, can be called loose-limbed, a weakness that is safely channelled into their reactions, where it is concentrated in their relationship to supernatural beings.

On the side of efficiency they all differ from the women. But the men are alike in that none of them makes a satisfactory affection relationship with anyone. They are all dominated by greed, resentment, and jealousy, and none of them has the necessary emotional equipment to be a good parent. Fenna is a possible exception.

158 The development of these four men differs chiefly because of differences in parental care. The case of Kipade is the most striking. His father was decidedly crippled, having risen from that state by dint of great popularity. The effect on Kipade was crushing, and he is sure about himself the opportunity to become a parent. Thus the cycle continues.

In short, it can be seen from these autobiographies that the character structure is strikingly influenced by at least one variable—the differences in parental care. The roles of the mothers in all four instances run more closely parallel. The differences are supplied by the fathers.

159 A second question emerges from the perusal of these autobiographies: What kind of limitations can be called by individuals having this basic personality structure? In the conclusion, we must note a general lack of interest in sharing or building the environment and an absence of enterprise and artistic creation. Interest in the outer world is lacking. This would seem to follow from the poor maternal care. The route by which this result is reached is somewhat circuitous. Bad nurture means that the interest of the individual remains focused on human objects; he never ceases making demands on them. Limited he remains based on the frustrating objects, which results in short-circuiting all resources. He cannot take any interest in mastery, either in applying it to human needs or in fixing the enjoyment of it in permanent artistic forms. The initial confidence in mastery is lacking.

157 A second result of this basic personality structure is the inability to select for stress or to create institutions that will prevent the entire society from falling apart. This society is anarchic enough, and the chance of a few hurricanes here and there would result in its collapse. These defenses are to be found in the general fear of aggression, the ego being too feeble to tolerate it. A second factor lies in vicing the co-

Conclusions to the Anthropologist

111 137

A second factor is the ¹³⁷
 basis of the society in the world. This factor is the strongest interest
 of this society against complete disintegration. The woman is not only
 an economic exchange, but the financial difference involved in break-
 ing up a marriage under the incidence of divorce only a fraction of
 what it would otherwise be.

A third factor that makes for cohesion is religion. Though it is con- 138
 sidered, operating only under stress, and conditioned so that the in- 139
 dividual can expect only a relief from an existing evil, its chief influ- 140
 ence is to foster better personal care. For in the anthropologist the
 commonest appeal to the supernatural is made on the occasion of a sick
 child or of women who are of age.

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Intelligence is under repeated pressure from the father-in-law, and his wife as well, to secure the return of agreed payments. A woman's loyalty, especially in the beginning, seems more often to be with her own family than with her husband, and she may even when actual privilege to a husband's delinquency in his payment of the bride price. But the payment is made to not the whole story. There are also bride price and dowry exchanges in that bride and in virginity trade. In fact, the effect has an always married upon as a primary source of satisfaction otherwise a financial enterprise is undertaken. In case of divorce the difference between the bride price and dowry payments to date are returned, and the difference must be paid back to the husband. Naturally, the longer a marriage lasts, the longer the more income, with the result that the more likely father helps to stabilize marriage. It might appear at first that that the divorce women because the price is a marriage price of dowry, and while bride there is some ability to such situation. However, not only is the woman valuable as an object and the presence of these children who will give her a birth trade, but she is the provider of food. Without a wife a man will have to work for his children, and without her supervision and good will he will not be able to make the surplus and use necessary for those very trade on which his privilege rests. The present are very real, even though they are not the main reason for social competition and privilege, and the factor for or on them.

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At the moment for which he is to give in the of law a young man enters upon the fact that this is a required to play as a man in the question mark. The man of father's father is in the connection.

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When father was about father to begin thinking of marriage and the bride price to make him in connection. For father the mother with the fact, but when a the father to father and father give him a right, partly as reward, partly as that, but as the financial means. Father took good care of it, finding it regularly and it was large enough to make him for a brother-in-law. Unfortunately he father at that time was planning a death trade and had already appropriated to his, so the father was forced to help him. He would easily that he would never again take him, a man to suddenly kept the price. But the father had, father might have had his help in buying a wife and his attitude about pig-raising might have had no very serious repercussions. Unfortunately, however, the father died and there was